/364 cont./

273 life of the individual or the community is associated with this beverage. The divine principle which kāwi has in it does not take away its secular character; and, while one gets drunk on it during the festivals, nothing prevents washing down meals with it at the time when the corn ripens. As a sign of [574] hospitality every stranger is invited to empty a calabash full [576] of it; and the compliments he addresses to the wife of his host fill his heart with pride.

• 527 The Indians always appreciated the liking I showed 273 /Plate XIV appears here/ /365/ for kāwi, and my old friend [123] Karnapadyú did not fail to recall the big vats full to the brim to persuade one to return to celebrate Easter with them, or, if you like, the corn harvest, since these two dates coincide more or less. Such promises /Fig. 29 appears here/ could not remain without effect, and Karnapadyú was not at all surprised to see me arrive shortly before the festival.

The greatest animation prevailed in the village of Carurutí, formerly so calm. Men came and went, bending under enormous loads of wood. All the urns were lined up in front of the huts and buried to a third of their height (Plate XIV, 1).

529 For a long time big piles of corn had already been heaped up 273 in the village, which all, big and small, men and women, 243 /Fig. 30 appears here/ were actively engaged in husking. [412] Some used their fingers, others knives or a pointed stick. Not [413] one had thought of the so practical instrument used by their ancestors: a small wooden peg with a leather loop to put two fingers through. It is curious to note that such a simple object fell into disuse; an old man still sold me a specimen made of iron but a close copy, so to speak, of the wooden prototype, of which it reproduced the smallest details (Fig. 29).

273 Now the hardest work begins: the grinding of the kernels. Day and night the dry noise of the pestles crushing the corn [461] resounds in the village. Often, to get the chore over more quickly, three women group around the same mortar and with surprising speed raise and pound their pestle without a single [415] error in rhythm interrupting their laborious work. Once ground, the corn is sifted in an urumpesa or large-meshed sieve (Fig. 31). The rather coarse flour is poured into large urns filled with water.

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8

the warriors, whom orators constantly exhorted to fight. The main tactic was to surprise and not to be surprised. Scouts were sent ahead of the army and sentries were placed on guard at night. The attack was carried out at dawn. During the battle, the women of the attacked village danced and sang to help their men resist. The victorious party returned with the heads of their slain enemies, which were subjected to all sorts of outrages.

CANNIBALISM

In the past, prisoners were ceremonially killed and eaten. The victims were usually the *Chané*, of whom, according to Lizárraga (1909, p. 552), the *Chiriguano* had eaten about 60,000 during the 16th century. Warriors delivered the captives to their children, who shot them with arrows. Prisoners whom they spared were incorporated into the *Chiriguano* tribe. In more recent times, the prisoners who were not put to death were kept as slaves.

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Musical instruments.—*Chiriguano* musical instruments are mainly copies of European or Andean instruments, such as the transverse flute. The transverse flute is Spanish, but the quena or end flute (pl. 43, *bottom*) is Andean. Among the most prized possessions of these Indians are round wooden whistles with two stops, and sereres, elongated pieces of wood, perforated lengthwise and blown by stopping the lower aperture (fig. 59, *d*). The clarinet with a slit reed tongue and the cowhorn bell are post-Columbian. The hide-covered drums beaten during feasts is of Spanish origin. Panpipes occur only among the *Chané* of the Parapeti River.

Dances.—Dancers of each sex form a separate line, holding hands with their neighbors. Under the leadership of a master of ceremony who beats time with a feather tuft, men dance on the same spot by bending the knee slightly while women move forward and backward or dance around the men, shaking rattles.

Drinking bouts.—Drinking bouts, in which enormous quantities of chicha are consumed, are attended by friendly communities, which are ceremoniously invited.

Narcotics.—Formerly, tobacco was grown in small quantities by the *Chiriguano* for ceremonial purposes. Today some *Chiriguano* smoke cigarettes, but seldom the pipe. A pre-Hispanic clay pipe was unearthed by Nordenskiöld at Caipipendi. Only a few *Chiriguano* who live near the *Quechua* chew coca, which, however, they do not cultivate.

Fermented drinks.—Maize chicha is the favorite beverage of the *Chiriguano*, who practically subsist on it during the weeks following harvest. Its preparation, entrusted to women, is a lengthy and com-

/160 cont./

574 The Chiriguano is naturally hospitable, and the stranger is welcomed in any hut of an Indian; he considers himself privileged to receive great persons, equals, and inferiors in his hut, which he at once moves out of in the case of the first, accomodating himself in the plaza or in the corridor, and renders him every service within his ability. The woman brings him water and cooks for him, and the man brings firewood and even takes out to pasture the animals with which he is to continue his trip.

574 178 [431] [273] If the Chiriguano has anything available, such as eggs, chickens, etc., he asks nothing for them and is quite happy if the stranger /illustration appears here/ /161/ gives him whatever he wants to when he takes his leave. If he has any of his pretasted liquor available, the first thing that he presents to his guest is a cup of this beverage. But today the situation is causing changes in their simple customs because of the refined ones of the civilized person, who has taught him to sell a chicken for as much as one boliviano. It is no longer as it once was, because his home was not respected (1).

1. Today they receive friends and acquaintances with respect and affection, because some guests or transients took advantage of the native by demanding things or persons to which they had no right.

622 527 [221] It is also a duty of the cacique to determine the time when the fiestas or public drinking sessions are to begin and their duration; these are generally held before and after planting, before and after harvest. If the rain increases and the previous harvest was very scant, the planting is advanced so that the maize will mature earlier and they will have something to drink for Easter. During the other months of the year the cacique directs the public fiestas, the general hunts for jabalíes /wild boar/, quiriquinchos, /ostriches/, deer, chuñas /cranes/, and other wild animals (2).

622 224

293 824 191 2. Whenever and wherever maize does not grow in quantity, the Chiriguano imitates the Toba

[Text Continues on P. 221]

/100/

291 The crown of the hat is made of four oval parts, as is
294 the brim which surrounds it, sewed with fine cords of the same material, and the edge of the brim is turned upward. The hat has a band of the same material sewed to both sides at the temples to hold it to the throat; a knot or a ring on the band can be used to tighten it.

292 The Ambícuai, which lends its name to the whole outfit,
281 is a perfect cassock, but its form is entirely Chiriguano, for it does not hinder the movement of the arms. Its cut is not straight, and both parts are made fast at the chest with two leather straps, which are run through the holes on the opposite side. The cassock in back ends in two points, where there is a kind of ornamentation of the same leather, which consists of short, fine strips, like a tassel. The sleeves are wide, as is the whole garment, and are attached to the shoulder, being open at the armpit so as not to impede the movement of the arms, either in hunting or in war, where the grandees also wear it. In fact, in the photograph taken in Santa Rosa to be [126] sent to the exposition a hunter and a warrior dressed in this
• 529 doublet appear outside the circle. In the middle there is a
554 Chiriguano woman with her crown and adornments as queen
562 of the fiesta, who offers chicha to all who are enjoying themselves (1).

1. The queen is the one who serves the dancers as mistress and patroness of the fiesta. This
[128] photograph or figure will not be reproduced in the chapter dealing with fiestas because I could not obtain it.

292 The Timbiao, breeches, is also of leather and is made
[281] of four pieces, wider from the waist to the sacrum and narrower from the thigh to the bottom. It is quite wide and comes to the ankle. It is rougher than the rest, but more valued, and they will give anything to have even a single pair. This garment is tied at the waist with a belt or with two strings which are sewed across the entire width of the garment itself.

/192 cont./

Adornments

000

/The first paragraph of this section, pp. 192-193, is omitted in the translation. The following illustration appears opposite p. 193, and the remainder of p. 193 follows./

181 The Chiriguano, although they occupy a very lowly place in this corner of the world, although they have little in the way of grandeur and show to display and take pride in, follow the common tendency of humanity, almost as the beast follows its instincts. Without any fear of error, if the Chiriguano were to possess great riches, he would probably invest them in his vices and in the adornment of his body.

302 [292] [574] When the Chiriguano wants to make a formal visit, he washes his body, dresses in his best clothing, and paints his face with achiote powder. The preparation of achiote seeds has been described in the preceding pages in the discussion of the flora /see p. 32/. Here I add that in order for the Urucú to be fixed on the Indian's skin it is necessary that he first soften his face, or the part that he wants to paint or embellish, with palma Christi oil.

751 302 It has already been seen that the region is hot and that atmospheric changes are very sudden; a period of extreme heat can be followed by severe cold, and in these changes the Chiriguano's skin becomes chapped. To avoid this nuisance, men and women paint their faces and their feet with the cosmetic. [527] [758] They also use it during public drinking sessions, at banquets, and during the preparation of chicha in order to ward off the high heat, as well as during convalescence and after having recovered from smallpox (1).

1. Achiote powder with palma Christi oil is cool in hot weather and warm in cold weather. The neophytes in the missions no longer use it, or, if they do, it is sparingly and as a remedy. [178]

[Text continues on p. 267]

/193 cont./

302 137 824 Another of the cosmetics frequently used by men and women is the Carasapa. This is an annual plant with broad leaves, and its stem grows /194/ to the height of a meter or a little more. The color of the plant itself and of its leaves is, for about half of it, somewhere between red and purple. The flower is large and about 30 centimeters long, its color being the same as that of the plant, but much brighter. There is enough of the plant everywhere, but it is not very abundant. The flower is somewhat heavy when it has seeds, and since the stem is slender and flexible, the result is that when it cannot hold itself upright it leans over toward the ground, forming an arch, hence its name Carasapa, or arched plant (1).

• [527]

1. At carnival time even the neophytes paint their faces, as do the whites. They buy face paint which the whites sell, and the infidels forsake their achiote at the carnivals.

303 When the flower and seed are in season, the coquettes do their harvesting in order to use it, and they look pretty. The Carasapa also has its preparation, without which its application would not be easy. They first grind up some white beans, sift this meal very fine, and then grind the Carasapa in a mortar with a little water, put this mixture in a cloth, squeeze over the bean meal the water which comes out, washing or coloring it, and then dry the dough in the sun, spread out on a cloth or a Cutama. The preparation is not difficult, but not all of them go to the trouble to do it, and for those who prepare it, it is a profitable item.

302 [531] The way to use it is the same as for the achiote, but it does not have any peculiarity, and hence it is only used at fiestas and at carnival time. Maidens beautify their faces by forming two circles of carasapa on their fresh cheeks and paint their eyebrows with achiote. Formerly, when young girls wore the Atira, pompadour /copete/, at fiestas it was painted with the carasapa mixture, after having been oiled with palma Christi.

/194 cont./

302 The flower of the Guambero, purslane, has the same properties as the carasapa, but it is little used, and they content themselves with just sticking the leaves on their faces, and this only at carnival time, the result being a gay set of dancers. Finally, the Indians have a fourth cosmetic, which they call Mboiurucu, or achiote of the viper. It is red, and they assert that it is food for the viper, hence its name. They use it by rubbing it on their cheeks, which makes them a bright red.

292 [627] [178] As noted above, the ancient Chiriguano man, Ava, and the Chiriguano woman of long ago, Cuña, at solemn fiestas and on days /195/ of general rejoicing, after having adorned their faces and washed their persons, wore the tiru and the mandu, respectively (1).

1. If the Indian dressed in a tiru does not have breeches, guasupi timbiao, he wraps his body from the waist down with a shorter poncho which comes to the calf. It is also of cotton, and the women weave it. It is called Tirupeé, or sheath that warms, "alias" wrap /abrigo/.

[286] [462]

The Tiru is a kind of long poncho, from which it differs because of the two openings that it has near the wrists; the hands are put into said openings and remain free for movement, and, the tiru fastened to the wrists, nothing impedes the motion of the one wearing it. It is spun and woven by the women, and the raw material is cotton. The tiru differs in color, some are black, others dark red, and others blue. The first color is obtained with black mud, Tuñúú, mixed with the resin of the algarroba, Piari; the second, with sotillo bark, Urundeibuzu; and the third, with wild indigo, Caogũi (2).

[286] 292 386 [824]

2. Today this is all purchased commercially, and the indigo plant, which is abundant in certain places, is ignored. They buy the indigo and the other colors, just as they buy for their poncho and their tipoi.

[437] [178]

/195 cont./

292 The black tiru is first dyed with sotillo bark, and then they
386 immerse it in a vessel which has well-steeped black mud and
824 algarroba resin. After some time they wash it and dry it out, leaving the permanent color. The dark red is made with only boiled sotillo bark. Finally, to dye with indigo they crush this leaf and expose it to the sun's rays, then they crush it again in the same way, after which they put it in a large earthenware vessel with water, in which the tiru is immersed and comes out a light blue, but, if they want it to be like the blue of drill, it is necessary to boil the indigo.

In order to dye everything red they also use a species of onion that they call Tunpaipi, which literally translated, means feet of God and is abundant in the fields, and another
292 one called Chapi, which is found in the hills. Everything said about the tiru is applicable to the mandu of the women, with the sole difference that this is open at both ends and is attached to the shoulders with two enormous silver needles that they call Yu guasu, big needles, which are also disappearing.

301 When a woman is occupied with domestic and other work,
302 she ties her hair up tightly with a band, Apicuá, /196/ of cotton
● [522] or wool, so that it will not inconvenience her at her tasks, but
[515] when there is a fiesta, she washes her person, washes her head, combs her heavy and shining hair, and lets it loose, flowing over her body as far down as it will go (1).

[178]

1. The young women today put up their hair like the white women, making braids through which they draw a band that they call Aflopea, braided cord. The hair fastened in the old way was like a baton, since not a hair was to be seen, even horizontally, all of it being covered by the band, aflopea.

/198 cont./

301 [562] [554] [527] I am going to end this chapter by mentioning a fancy ornament which has completely disappeared. It is a woman's ornament and is called Aguá, crown, and whoever wore it was called Cuña aguá vaé, crowned woman. The duty of this woman at the public drinking bouts and solemnities was to direct the women's dance, to direct the singing, and to give drinks to the singers and dancers with her own hands. The aguá was a varicolored band up to three meters long, which was put around the head, crossed at the back of the neck, and held on by thorns, needles, or big silver pins, and both ends terminated in tassels of various colors. It was a very striking ornament (1).

[126] 1. In order to send a complete aguá to the Turin exposition I had to have it made in the girls' school in Santa Rosa. I could not get one in the town: there were none even at that time.

ooo Here is poor humanity without any exact idea of religion and worship, they are zealous and hard-working for the body, but have no concern at all for the soul. Only Christ can restore humankind, and tear away the veil which was obscuring its intelligence, and only the priest and Catholic missionary can teach him the sound doctrine of /199/ immortality and other dogmas, so that with this knowledge he may first seek the kingdom of God and receive the rest besides (1).

1. Quaerite primum regnum Dei et haec omnia adiicentur vobis.

392 Explanation of the Preceding Illustration [1]

1. Sticks for getting fire.
534 2. Bull's horn for use as a musical instrument.
3. Tail of a quiriquincho /armadillo/ for use as a musical instrument.
412 4. Tweezers for pulling out the hair from the face and other parts.

[1] [ie., on p. 266.- Ansley]

/248 cont./

273 mortar of clay, and thus the fermentation works without interference and in a few days. When the fermentation is over, they carefully remove the clay and the lid, and the Cangüi appears, covered with a good dose of oil, a sure sign that the chicha has been made perfectly (2).

2. When the weather is hot, the fermentation of the chicha works in three days, but in cold weather six or seven are needed.

Before beginning to drink it, the housewife collects and removes the oil /illustration appears here/ /249/ and fills the cups for the drinkers; she pours a few drops of this oil into each one. If this precaution were not taken, all of the oil would pour into a single cup, and the woman who had made the chicha would be deprived of the praises of all the hangers-on. When the Chiriguano woman wants the chicha to be better, when she wants Copiriru, or or recooked chicha, after she has strained it, as has been said, she brings it to a boil again and, when it is cold, bottles it.

[302] Note that Chiriguano women who are getting ready to prepare chicha first anoint their faces and calves with palma Christi oil and over this put achiote paint and then begin the job. They say that with this cosmetic, they feel the heat of the fire less, but, be that as it may, it is certain that to see those women so painted in a house with a big fire and lots of smoke is the same as seeing the furies of hell; the resemblance is not remote.

In another chapter it will be seen that a lot of chicha is made for the fiestas celebrated after the harvest, but it should be noted here that food is prepared for this general drinking and the grand hotel is open to all in the plaza, where townsmen and outsiders, men and women, gather into separate groups, because the European civilization of the mixed schools, mixed dances, mixed parties, mixed baths, etc., etc., which are true sewers of prostitution, has not arrived here (1).

• [527] [576]

1. In fact, at the public gatherings the men drink at a decent distance away from the women; their conversations are crude, but do not exceed the limits, because the woman is in the company of her husband.

/255 cont./

those of certain peoples who, without going further, are close to those who know nothing about civilization, whose morals, compared with those of these unfortunates, are far lower because of their refinement (2).

2. Some moderns would have civilization consist of purely material education without attending to the yearnings of the heart; for them it is all the same whether man dresses or goes naked.

●527 In the course of this chapter my readers will learn that I can be little mistaken in what I stated above, and they will also learn that even the Chiriguano have fiestas, which they call Arete, which /256/ are celebrated neither for saints, emperors, nor kings, nor are they celebrated in a disorderly fashion, nor do they allow themselves to be disemboweled by a bull, as sometimes happens to mestizos or Spaniards; much less are they celebrated for open abandonment to luxury; they are celebrated only in order to drink and stuff oneself, and to enjoy the fruit of the labor involved in the planting of the maize, to have a few days of general rejoicing, to drink, in sum, like good brothers (1).

[526]

1. In the general drinking a certain immorality in their words is to be lamented, and they sometimes test their strength and valor with pugilism.

Before the Fiesta

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Before the white race entered the region, cattle were almost unknown and the few that the Indians had were tame, nor had they taken to their hearts the desire for maize as they do now; thus the Chiriguano easily did his planting and weeding in less than a month, leaving the rest to God, but I speak badly, to the good sorcerer, the sun, and the rain. Today if he does not put a fence around his planting, the cattle of the Christians and the Indians very soon reach the crop, and a little carelessness is

/256 cont./

241 231 177 enough for this. Although there are good fences, there are better and braver bulls or calves, who with their horns are capable of opening iron gates, opening the way to all their females, whom they then call with much affection with their prolonged bellows (2).

2. The harmful cattle even become ferocious: if a man alone tries to chase them out of the field without the help of good dogs, he will be charged.

241 221 The harvest marks for the Chiriguano the time of the year that he calls Mbaepiro, which literally means a dry thing or things, and everyone will understand that this corresponds to autumn, in which season the trees and every bush take off their beauty and raiment. Men and women then are busy carrying in [343] what the land has produced for them: the maize crop is kept in the plot itself, in a kind of house of sticks called Abatío, maize house, and the woman little by little, as needed, brings it to the town for the daily meal and for the preparation of chicha (3).

3. If the harvest of gourds is not abundant, they put them on the maize in the same shed, if they do not build another; the bean crop is brought immediately to the tribe or town.

• 529 /257/ After this the Chiriguano spends his time in idleness, drinking here today, there tomorrow, visiting with some, playing with others, enjoying, in sum, with almost no work, a better [221] life than the greatest ruler in the world. The harvest is cut between May and June, and after it the libations in honor of the belly god begin. As the desire to drink is extraordinary, before having the general libation, the families, one by one, begin to make a small quantity of chicha to be drunk among a few friends and relatives.

/257 cont./

529 622 It falls to the cacique to give the order for the general drinking, and this is not long in coming. Twenty or thirty days before it takes place, he puts a large vessel in front of his house: this is the signal. Then in the evening, or when he judges best, he addresses a long discourse to his subjects, exhorting them to prepare what is necessary for the Arete: he stresses in this discourse that maize is a thing for drinking, once it has been obtained through the kindness of the sorcerer, lord of the rains. He adds that it is very proper not to lose the ancient custom of drinking and having a great feast to show friendship and courtesy to neighbors who live in other tribes. He underlines in his discourse the need to prepare good chicha and plenty of it and to prepare much wild game, so that those who are to participate as guests can enjoy these things and other, domestic foods to their full satisfaction, and that this may be a great honor for the townspeople.

I do not believe that anyone doubts the completely satisfactory effect that the cacique's discourse has on the mind of the Chiriguano, who wants nothing more than to drink, sing, and dance: thus, after the said speech, great joy appears on all faces, and all sigh in expectation of the arrival of the happy day when they can gather as good friends (1).

622 461

1. The caciques are very happy in their speeches for fiestas, but when it comes to work, they are not so much so. Humanity is not naturally inclined toward work. When a crop was very abundant, it was unlikely that they would plant the next year, and they would be content with very little.

527 On the next day activity has already begun, and the first thing is to go to the field or plot to provide themselves with sufficient maize so that there may be no lack of chicha. The women then begin to grind night and day, while the men bring in firewood: then, when /258/ there is enough firewood, they go off in considerable numbers to hunt in order to have meat and be able to invite their friends.

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When the cacique sees that all has started well, he prepares to go to the neighboring towns to ask their inhabitants to honor him with their presence on the day set, seeing to it that the first invitation is to the cacique or the sorcerer in honor of whom the feast and drinking are being prepared. The one who does the inviting is called Purumuncau vaé, he who gives to drink, and the one invited is called Ucau vaé, or he who partakes. When the one who is doing the inviting has arrived at the house of the one who is to be invited, he explains to him the object of his visit, begging him at the same time to condescend to accept, he and all his people, an acceptance which he and his will consider a great honor (1).

1. In order to further influence the decision of the one invited, the inviter, on his diplomatic visit, refers to the old custom of general libations, which it is essential to keep alive at any cost.

The one invited does not have to be told twice: he accepts at once, noting that he should have been the first to set this good example, but that circumstances and a great deal of work have not permitted him to do so, but it should not be left undone for this reason, and then he will have the honor of accepting with all his people. After this act of Chiriguano diplomacy and etiquette which they have not yet abandoned, the inviter takes his leave, satisfied with his trip, with the good reception, the acceptance, and, above all, for having gained the lead on his friend, who with his people, once the fiestas are over, will say this publicly with the following words: oremana ma pevi, we have been shamed by you, and enecatu ruyepi ne, but we shall take revenge, meaning: we shall not delay in inviting you to our town so that we may enjoy ourselves there too (2).

[921]

2. If the one invited were not to accept for himself and his people, it would be a very grave affront which undoubtedly would start a war.

/258 cont./

The Fiesta

527 The evening before the arete finds everything cleaned up and ready in the town; they have everything put outside, at a convenient distance from each house, in front of same, the vessels full of chicha already fermented, and another in the house which will be fermented in a little while so that it may not turn sour or run short. I never had the curiosity to count the vessels in these general drinking bouts, which are not very frequent; I only know that each family fills three large pitchers /259/ and from them can be deduced the quantity, or number of cannons ready there for firing and heroic defense in the battle with their owners and other hangers-on. I was at a fiesta in a town of some 350 families, and it lasted for more than a week.

301 527 [302] The people invited also get ready and begin to draw near the place of the arete, but first they have adorned their bodies. The coquettes round off their pompadours, paint their little faces, and wear their best clothing, as all do, adorning their necks with necklaces, their arms with bracelets, their breasts with the Boivera, and their whole persons with the Mandu or the Tiru. There is no lack of women who adorn their heads with the Aguá, a crown that they make of leaves, or of tin cans, adorned with painted wool or cotton with tassels down to the knees; in sum, they dress up in their best (1).

527 574 1. Nobody enters the town where the fiesta is being prepared; on the night before all sleep a short distance away.

The arrival of the outsiders is on the morning of the day itself. Before this takes place, the inhabitants have already arisen in order to hold the reception. Those invited, after getting up, again clean up their persons and their adornments; the chief, ucau vaé, mounts a horse, which is also done by the other riders, and they begin to gallop like a troop of madmen, whistling and shouting as loudly as they can; those who are on foot follow, running in the same way; next come the young women, also

/259 cont./

527 running, and at the end the mature women and the old women
574 more calmly (2).

2. The first men and women enter the town where they have been invited, making an uproar like a thousand demons, in which they are joined by the startled dogs.

527 All the men and women gather in front of the house of the
574 cacique, purumuncau vaé, who bids them all welcome, thanks
293 them for the honor that they are doing him, and there then takes place a quite ridiculous scene, which is greatly celebrated by the Indians. The host cacique has placed in front of his house a large vessel full of chicha, which sticks out of the ground at least a meter high. Well then, before the libation begins, they all jump from one side of the vessel to the other. This jump is called Ucaugüiñampo in some places, and in others, Uyapirae. As I have said, all of them jump, men and women, and especially the unmarried young men and women; some do it without any trouble, and others, particularly some of the girls, stumble because of their laughter and their tight clothing, fall to the ground, and this contretempts/260/ causes much hilarity. While this is going on, the older women and men arrive, and the fiesta begins.

527 There is nothing special in the beginning; it is only note-
293 worthy that as the beverage has been prepared in honor of a particular person, he is served first and continually; he must accept some from all the men and women, for otherwise he would be impolite, and thus in a short time the guest's belly is like a swollen bomb and soon his face begins to look repulsive, just as all those of the retinue are not long in having the same appearance (1).

1. During the extraordinary drinking sessions, rare is the family that prepares Copiruru, or recooked chicha, because it is very intoxicating and disturbs the animation of the guests and townspeople.

/260 cont./

529 273 [554 562] The drinking continues for several hours, half in silence with a moderate and placid gathering, with the important men seated on benches or seats and some of their inferiors standing and others sitting on the ground, all of them separated from the women, and these latter, as I have already observed elsewhere, look like so many mortars. When the gathering is well attended, the sight is very pleasant, because anyone who has never seen it will be astonished by the variety of costumes and by the ornaments and cosmetics with which they adorn their faces and feet, and I have in fact seen some travelers stay for quite some time to contemplate this simple custom of those who are called the savages of Bolivia (2).

2. What a pity that there is no photograph of such gatherings! The one taken in Santa Rosa is scarcely a simulacre, since at that time there was not even any chicha for those who formed the wheel or gathering for the dance to drink.

The Dance and Songs

527 533 126 By the time they are quite full, they begin the dancing and singing of the Ayarise. I do not give the Spanish words here, for the real meaning is not known; I could explain them with conjectures and by analogy with other, similar ones, as was done by Father Giannecchini, whose words the Italian del Campano transcribes in his book, but they themselves do not know the meaning. The notes of the Ayarise are written and printed here so that any band that so desires may have a pleasant piece for some capital plaza: risum teneatis amici. The band music was set down by a maestro of the Potosí missions in the year 1903 and touched up this year by the missionary Franciscan Father Domingo F. Regini.

/261/

The Music for the Ayarise

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[293]

The signal for the dancing and singing is given by the host, who first makes a short speech to the maestro, who is carrying in his hands a Yandugua, a kind of parasol or umbrella made of ostrich feathers fastened around a long, straight piece of hollow cane. All the feathers have their natural curve outward (1).

[293]
[126]

1. The Yandugua in the Florence museum was purchased in the San Buenaventura de Ivu Mission by the Reverend Father Prefect Friar Romualdo d'Ambrogi, tireless missionary of Potosí.

See the picture on page 77.

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After the speech that the maestro and dancers listen to as if it were a Good Friday sermon in church, the singing and the dance begin. The maestro keeps time with his yandugua, the men dance by moving their feet from the knee, striking the ground without moving from the place they occupy, and the women behind the men with a maté in hand, full of chicha or not. The women take one step backward and another forward, and, not staying in the same place, they walk in time around the men with the formality and exactness of priestesses and hold hands with the other hand, two by two.

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The larger the number of dancers, the more noise they make; there is no staying near them, because the men sing too loud. At a distance, to a person who is used to these songs, they seem relatively pleasant, but at night when one hears them for the first time and does not know what they contain, a thousand things will pass through the mind. Here are the verses of the Ayarise:

[539]

Ayarise, rise -- Mborisese, sese -- Rosa yainde -- Imbaragũe -- Yuma chúrere -- Yuma chuépa -- Soro poco -- Eh! Eh! -- Saisá -- saisá -- Cururu hetesimi pinte -- Hevi sunzu -- Iparanta tapiti -- Cha machá imbarayu -- Imbará, boteriyu -- Eh! Eh! (2).

2. It is perhaps appropriate and my readers may like

/261 cont./

527 533 539 to know the approximate meaning of the Ayarise, and so I put it in this note: "Let us sing, companions -- let us keep on singing -- with our women -- and orphans -- we are all here -- singing and dancing -- I know and I like this song -- The toad and the green frog stop -- and the rabbit makes an effort -- I am tired -- I stop and go off. Eh! Eh!

529 535 533 The Chiriguano can sing all day with these few verses, as in fact they do, but with rests. In order to finish the song all together and rest and drink for a long while, the men make a great stamp on the ground with one foot in time /262/ and a shout out of time, and everything stops with a special resounding and prolonged laughter of the women dancers.

Without leaving the circle of the singing and dancing, the lord of the fiesta has the dancers served abundant drink, which they partake of to their satisfaction in order to begin the Ayarise again as they were doing before, always at the command of the Purumuncau vaé and under the direction of the maestro, who does not put down his Yandugua (1).

[293] 1. There is one maestro of the ayarise, and he always has his yandugua, but this does not prohibit others from having one; there may be as many as ten in one dance, and they serve as parasols when the heat is very oppressive. The Indian Guarerai of Ivu had six and he lent them out during the solemn fiestas of the town.

527 The dancing and singing of the ayarise continues in this fashion until nine or ten in the morning; then the banquet is prepared in the public plaza, where they choose the cleanest place. There men and women sit down in separate places, and at once they bring from the houses the food, which has been prepared upon plates, where there is broth mixed with meat well seasoned with salt and chili peppers. Meanwhile two enthusiasts of the town

/262 cont./

●527 are gathering together all the people, shouting like madmen and making known their great joy. The lord of the fiesta has arranged beforehand that the morning reception should take place in one location and the afternoon affair in another, and in this way not only is there time to prepare, but there is also food every day for the outsiders and for those who are not outsiders.

In the afternoon, at four o'clock more or less, they eat again with more enthusiasm than before, because their happiness is greater and then, it will be understood, ex abundantia musti os loquitur. But great friendship and harmony prevail; then they sing a little more, one by one, and when the sun sets there is a general rest (2).

2. From the afternoon oration until two in the morning there is complete silence; at that hour the song begins anew, with dancing and drinking. Today, since the voice of the cacique is little heeded, there is no schedule.

[622]
[178]

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Mbapa páure

This dance is similar to a quadrille; couples execute it by making turns through the streets of the town, both day and night. According to what the Indians of Ivu say, the Mbapa páure is not general for the Chiriguano race, but peculiar to certain regions, and it is not more than a hundred years old. They even say that it had its origin /263/ at the foot of the Itácua mountain range in Cordillera Province and then spread there up to Menbirái and Choreti Guasu.

When the war of the cacique Yaveáu took place, the Indians of Güiracoti, living on the left bank of the stream of Cuevo, fled to the left bank of the Parapiti River, where they stayed and learned this new dance and song. Thus, when they returned to their lands, when Yaveáu, through having avenged himself excessively, had pardoned and forgotten the affront he had received, they brought back the novelty and began to introduce it into their towns.

/263 cont./

535 184 173 Someone went to teach it in the towns located behind the hill of Aguaragüe, and the towns located on the right bank of the Cuevo River intended to introduce it, but, seeing the dismal consequences that resulted from it, they have abstained to this day, so that it is a fact that the Mbapa páure is now limited to the small towns of Caraguatarenta, Ñaguá, and Caraguatagüe, and it is certain that it is neither heard nor seen in the large towns of Santa Rosa and Ivu, which are a few kilometers away (1).

[837]

1. In the towns where the Mbapa páure is sung, there are upset marriages, because the dance is between a man and woman holding hands, which does not happen in the Ayarise; therefore, or to avoid said upsets, many caciques do not allow it to be introduced into their area of jurisdiction.

The Music of the Mbapa páure

• 527 533 535 [184] This is another piece of music which has been scored for a band by the Reverend Father Domingo F. Regini; it is much simpler than the ayarise, but the song and dance attract a great deal of attention, because they are not known in all the Chiriguano towns. It is a kind of carnival which lasts for a long time, but when the said time is over, nobody again remembers the Mbapa páure until a year has passed. Here are the words of [539] the song: Tavia, Tavia -- Erecosiye mbapa páure -- Tirisoti, tirisoti -- Ancua chopi -- Chopi nano saraviyé -- Eh! Eh! Uetepeso, güeremeso -- Yagua tairari, yagua tairari -- Yurumbopi -- Yémanta -- Eh! Eh! (2).

2. Explanation: Let us sing the mbapa paure, like the blackbird sings, let us sing until we are left with our mouths twisted and we are tired, even though it give us a pain in the chest, let us challenge even the jaguar, and let our mouths stretch. Eh! Eh!

/263 cont./

527 273 The fiesta of the Ayarise is an annual one, and it is always understood that the Indians have drink; thus in the general fiestas it does not end in one day; /264/ it lasts a long time until the chicha bottled in the vessels outside comes to an end; when this is finished, they repair to the large pitchers indoors, which are in reserve, like the reserve corps in a war. After eight or ten days the fiesta can be considered at an end, and then the ucau vaé with all his soldiers takes leave of the purumuncau vaé with thousands of thanks, congratulating him for the order which has been maintained, the joy which has reigned, and the abundance of food and drink prepared. On finishing the praises, the guest in turn invites his friend and all the people for a similar affair in his tribe, with the month and day immediately being set.

527 574

527 273 Thus does the Chiriguano fiesta end, leaving everyone content and satisfied. But it is repugnant to see them drink without resting; the surroundings of these places look as though they were flooded by rain, their bodies give off an unpleasant odor, their faces seem swollen, their eyes out of their sockets, their lips with the tembeta sag like a baby lamb's, and just to approach one of them or the place where they are drinking is the same as approaching a sewer, such is the fetidness! But the Chiriguano is very content and glories in the piglike state in which he finds himself, saying, Asagũipo, I am drunk, and when he is getting over his drunkenness, he confirms what a good state he was in. Poor beast! (1)

[178]

1. Formerly, the intoxication of the Chiriguano was almost never complete; today, with the use of liquor, he frequently loses consciousness. Would that this harmful drink could be eliminated! The mission Indians no longer glory in their drunkenness; they say that they have been drunk, but not as an honorable act.

[177] [177]

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Chiriguano carnival, "The Fight of the Bull with the Jaguar."

4: Nino--361 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SP10 Chiriguano SP10

/267 cont./

[54] [177] [648] Don Antonio Menduiña, who had requested aid; he fought on bravely alone, helped by his soldiers from Azero.

Thus, even though it is not of Chiriguano origin, the carnival [178] is greatly celebrated here, so much so that it bears the name of Arete, fiesta, through antonomasia, and all the old fiestas are [461] gradually disappearing, yielding to this one. For the days that [292] this residue of paganism lasts, the Chiriguano works almost all year in spite of the laziness that accompanies him; for it is he gladly helps the whites, receiving in exchange money to buy clothing for himself and his wife and children; and on those days all are on great parade, showing off luxurious garments of every form and color, garments which, to be sure, they do not dare put on /268/ during the other days of the year, neither for the Ayarise nor for the Mbapa páure.

In such circumstances there is hardly any difference between [532] blacks and whites; the men well dressed, and even the infidel women with garb adorned with gauze, fancy hats, and multicolored ribbon; the children cover their faces with masks which they have made beforehand by carving toborochi wood; young men prefer to show off on horseback, riding at a gallop, and others, such as the old people, amuse themselves by looking at the dancers and Agüeros /maskers/, for whom everything is allowed because it is carnival.

[54] [535] By way of preparation for the big fiesta, or because one drinks and has fun, they make merry on the compadre and [527] comadre days, and on Quinquagesima Saturday, all day, the maskers and dancers practice the dances that they call Aticu. [532] On the next day from eight to nine they begin the carnival, dancing to the music of drums and flutes of hollow cane, and the one who is called lord of the fiesta is someone in disguise with a mask that depicts an old man with a white beard, usually mounted on a burro; the one who is thus disguised directs the fiesta, makes his speeches in each corner of the plaza, recommending harmony and happiness (1).

1. The principal man so disguised has subalterns,

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

XXI.

Dancing Masks.

C Ce 177 532 527 535

A Chané Indian on the Rio Itiyuro told me that mask dances were introduced among the Indians by the Whites. PADRE BERNARDINO DE NINO was also told by the Chiriguano that the celebration of the carnival came to them from the Whites, and he plainly considers that we here have to do with a custom which is not of Indian origin. This is certainly wrong. The fixed date of the festival came to the Indians from the Whites, but the manner of celebration is manifestly derived from an old Indian custom which corresponds to similar masquerades described from Brazil by KOCH-GRÜNBERG. This appears from NINO's own account of the celebration of the carnival.

The ceremony is at least partly a feast of fruitfulness[1]) The mask dancers throw the husks of beans and the offal from chicha-brewing at the other dancers in order to secure a good harvest. Just as in northwestern Brazil, some at least of the Chiriguano-dancers appear disguised as animals which they imitate. NINO says that towards the end of the festival the old people weep because they call to mind the dead who cannot share in the pleasure. The ceremony is ended by the participators going out of the village and throwing their masks into the river or some other water-course and there washing their faces and hands. Sometimes they burn the masks, as is done in northwestern Brazil.

Ce 115 177 527 532 535

BATIRAVU, a most reliable old Chané Indian, assured me that when he was a boy he had seen masks on the Rio

[1]) P. 208.

8tNordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8

XXIV

Trophies.

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We know from several writers[1]) that the Chiriguano used to keep the heads of their beaten enemies as trophies According to what a Chané Indian named Batirayu told me, the Chané used to bring home the heads of slain enemies. At festivals these were put up on the »square» in the villages. Thanks to FRIEDERICI we have a fine work on scalping in America to which I beg to refer. It is, at present, impossible to say whence the Chiriguano and Chané obtained this custom.

[1]) See PASTELLS P. 30; CORRADO P. 46.

XXV.

Property Marks.

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In part 1 (Map 34) I have already written about the geografic distribution of such marks. They belong to the cultural elements that these Indians probably got from the culture zone in the west.

6: Nordenskiöld--85 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF 10
Chane SF8

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Chapter Fifteen

Drinking Bouts among the Chané and Chiriguano

If a Chané or Chiriguano tells a legend, he often begins it thus: "A long time ago there was once a great drinking bout." If he reports something that happened, some illness of a relative or the like, he will say: "It was before or after the festival." Indeed, at these festivals one hears and sees most of what has remained of the old culture of these Indians. This is when the most beautiful clay vessels appear, this is when one sees costumes from olden times, this is when the stone ornaments are taken out of the treasure jars.

Among us a housewife is proud if she can show her guests beautiful tablecloths and fine porcelain. The Chané and Chiriguano women think the same way. At festivals each woman wants the maize beer at her house to be brought out in clay vessels more beautiful than those of her neighbors and to be served in calabashes that are more elegantly decorated than those of anyone else.

That is why, before each festival, the women are occupied with making clay vessels and the men with the decoration of calabashes. In the Chané and Chiriguano villages one sees magnificent collections of clay vessels. A few women in particular know how to paint these with superior skill and elegance. One almost never sees three jugs that are entirely alike. Each one tries to appear at the festival with something original, to paint something new and pretty. As far as linear /235/ ornamentation is concerned, they know how to vary the old ornamentation, but they do not know how or do not want to free themselves from them and open up new paths. The /Fig. 116 appears here/ Indian woman is conservative in her art and is able /236/ to free herself from the models of her mother's or grandmother's time only if she takes her motifs directly from nature and paints animals. By no means all the women in the villages are artists. There are some whom nature has endowed with the gift of art, and some true bunglers. Who can paint clay vessels as one of the wives of

Ee 531 177

/236 cont./ The younger generation, I fear, will prefer German porcelain and enamelware, and with that the Chiriguano and Chané art will become part of the many fine and beautiful things that will disappear before the brutal civilization of the white man. In many villages one is already obliged to rummage around in the corners of the huts if one wishes to find vessels painted with a sure hand and natural taste. The worst thing, however, is that the whites are beginning to take pleasure in the clay vessels of the Indians. This brings about mass production. For the whites everything is good enough, it need be neither beautiful nor well done. They do not want the tasteful and simple, but the garnish and strange, "curiosidades," as the Creole says. Our museums must beware of these curiosities, for they give a mistaken idea of what is truly Indian.

Ee 273

The women brew beer for the festival. This is supposed to be made with maize (preferably yellow or white), and only the poor Chané on the Rio Parapiti must often content themselves with beer made out of sweet potatoes. If algarroba is available, beer is also brewed from this fruit. "It is good and intoxicates so nicely," say the Indians.

Ee 527 261 433

/237/ If the maize harvest is abundant, there is joy in the villages; then there is food and drink in every hut. If the maize crop has failed, there is no joy, stomachs are empty, and it is quiet on the festival plaza. If the granaries are full of maize, the Indian is proud and does not care about whites, suppression, and trouble. If the barn is empty, he is subservient and morose.

Ee 273

After the women have fetched the maize from the granaries and the men have brought wood and the women water, /Fig. 117 appears here/ the brewing commences. First the maize is pounded in large mortars. Day and night one hears the busy women pounding. The pounded maize is sifted and then mixed with water in huge clay vessels and boiled. Then a portion is taken out, chewed, and mixed well with saliva. This is then poured into the rest and, after it has been strained, must ferment in large open vessels with a little heat. The pots are stirred with large wooden spatulas

Ee /238 cont./
273 finest clay vessels, "yambuy," and places these in front of her
574 guests (Figs. 77 and 78). The person before whom a vessel with
576 cangui is placed must serve. This applies to the chiefs as well.
Even I served at Indian social gatherings. It is not unusual for
the men to serve the women and vice versa. The cangui is poured
into decorated calabashes which are passed in turn. Everyone
must drink up. A person who refuses is impolite and ill-bred.
It is not appropriate for a person to pour for himself. If one
wishes to be polite to the server, he first drains his bowl, then
fills it himself, and offers it to him. If one drinks everything
offered, he is a friend of the Indians. If one refuses, the Indians
become mistrustful of him. An old Chané once said to me:
"You are a nice Christian, even in the morning you drink maize
beer with us." When Moberg returned home from the hunt laden
with booty, the young and pretty women crowded around the
happy huntsman and welcomed him with a calabash of maize
beer. /239/ What were the hardships of the hunt /Fig. 118 appears
e Ce here/ compared to those of drinking, for the women whose bowl
[754] he left untouched would never forget the insult. If one has
enemies, the drinking of cangui can be dangerous, for who knows
if someone has not put a bit of his own excrement or hair in the
beer, so that one will be bewitched and die. Such things happen
C Ce in these villages.

522 At the festivals, evidences of Indian humor often come to
● 527 light. One joke, for example, is to act as though one were hand-
ing around cangui in a calabash turned upside down, another is to
C Ce ask someone to play the flute on a misshapen reed.

535 Dance masks are now worn by the Chiriguano and Chané
532 only during the carnival, the great drinking festival of the
177 Christians. Those that I saw had the form of human faces (Fig. 119).
541 Very different opinions prevail among the Indians about
Ce whether or not the masks here are of Indian origin. Vocapoy
532 said the idea for them had originally come from the whites.
177 Batirayu, on the other hand, maintained that as a boy on the Rio
535 Parapiti he saw among the Chané some of the present masks, which
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[796]

/239 cont./ were used at their great festivals. In his opinion, the Chané used masks before the whites came to the country. /240/ In addition in those days they had around their legs rattles made out of fruits and on their heads feather ornaments of parrot feathers.

The Chiriguano and Chané always destroy the masks after the carnival. They are either burned or thrown into the river. The Chané call the masks "añañya."

It is strange what a great role the carnival now plays as a festival among the Indians. This undoubtedly comes from the fact that the whites distribute great quantities of spirits there and that the Indians who work for them are given a few days off at that time.

Guests often come from a great distance to the festivals. They appear there in their finest clothing and ornaments, freshly painted and nicely combed. Most of the old costumes and ornaments, however, have already disappeared. Nevertheless one still sees women in home-woven clothing with necklaces of chrysocolla and turquoise. I never saw used, however, the silver diadem and the silver pins which belong to the festive attire. One often sees the men's blue costumes (Fig. 81) with silver chest ornaments preserved in the huts by the old people, but they are not used for the festivals.

A B

Fig. 118. Soup spatulas. Chiriguano.
A = Tihuipa. 1/8.
B = Caipipendi. 1/6.

Among the Chané in the Itiyuro valley I saw the Indians dance at a cangui festival. Around a "yambuy" of cangui stood a few old men in twos, singing a monotonous song

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/240 cont./ and beating time with their feet. The women walked slowly up and down in time with the song, outside the circle of men.

Among the Chané and Chiriguano the attire of the white man is replacing everything old and beautiful, and of my many old friends among the chiefs of these Indians only Maringay scorns the rags of the whites.

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Liquor is being introduced more and more among these Indians, and the ceremonial, pleasant maize-beer festivals are turning into crude drinking bouts.

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Fig. 119. Dance mask.
Chiriguano. Yacuiba. 1/6.

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I shall never forget a night in Vocapoy's village. The /241/ men had gone to the Christians to drink liquor. When they came back, harsh words fell and knives were displayed. The liquor would have claimed bloody sacrifices if the courageous women, with firebrands from the maize-beer boiling, had not thrown themselves between the quarreling men and, after separating them, taken them home with soothing words of flattery.

St Schmidt--124 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8
Izozo

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6. Vessels Intended for Serving Chicha, from the Collection

I. A. 347 (726)	Chir.	Ht. 18.3 cm.	Max. dia.	15.3 cm.	Apert.	10 cm. (Fig. 68)
I. A. 348 (726)	Chir.	Ht. 14.5 cm.	Max. dia.	14.7 cm.	Apert.	8 cm.
I. A. 349 (726)	"	Ht. 18.5 cm.	Max. dia.	18.2 cm.	"	5.2 cm.
I. A. 371	"	" 20	" "	" 21.3	"	" 8.5 cm.
I. A. 379	"	" 18.5	" "	" 16	"	" 6 cm.
I. A. 380	"	" 20	" "	" 18.3	"	" 8.5 cm. (Fig. 82a)
I. A. 382	"	" 18	" "	" 14	"	" 7 cm. (Fig. 82b)
I. A. 385	"	" 20.5	" "	" 21.7	"	" 9 cm.
I. A. 402	"	" 22	" "	" 15.5	"	" 12 cm.
I. A. 403	"	" 17.5	" "	" 14.5	"	" 14 cm. (Fig. 64)
I. A. 404	"	" 20	" "	" 21.5	"	" 9 cm. (Fig. 74a)
I. A. 405	"	" 19	" "	" 19	"	" 7 cm.
I. A. 587	Izozó	" 18	" "	" 16.2	"	" 12 cm.
I. A. 588	"	" 14	" "	" 14.3	"	" 12 cm.
I. A. 590	"	" 13	" "	" 12.8	"	" 12.5 cm.
I. A. 609	"	" 14	" "	" 12.5	"	" 12 cm.
I. A. 623	"	" 20.5	" "	" 18	"	" 12.5 cm. (Fig. 60)

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/Fn. 726, which appears on p. 122, reads: Donated by D. María F. de Casati./

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The Chiriguano and Chané use vessels like those mentioned above in the chicha festivities, taking the chicha from the large pots by means of them and filling the cuyas /gourd vessels/ or baked clay cups that they pass among those present at the fiesta.

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preceding. I must also cite A. Métraux's publication, "Les Hommes-Dieux chez les Chiriguano e dans l'Amérique de Sud /Men-Gods among the Chiriguano and in South America/" (363).

363. In the Revista del Instituto de Etnologia de la Universidad Nacional de Tucumán, Vol. II, No. 1, Tucumán, 1931.

in which he deals with the cases, repeated several times, in which some individuals among the Chiriguano appear as Messiahs and, acquiring many proselytes, gave the mission administrations much to do.

Plaited Objects Used in Religious Celebrations, from the Collection

I.A. 1439. (Chiriguano) Length 70 cm. (Fig. 42b.)
I.A. 1440. " " 37 cm. (Fig. 42a.)

Plaited objects like those mentioned above are also very common among the Paraguayans and made in the same way. This custom of making such plaited figures and having them blessed, as the Chiriguano also do, is connected with the Catholic ritual, and the Chiriguano no doubt received it from the missionaries along with the other rites of the Catholic religion (364).

364. See the opposite opinion of Métraux I, p. 482.

The masks that the Chiriguano make to carry during the Carnival fiestas are also modern objects. Some such Chiriguano masks are shown in drawings by Nordenskiöld and Métraux (365).

365. Nord. 1. Fig. 119. Métraux I. Plate 86 and Fig. 121.